FILE

Index & file

KPM McIntire

Welles Discusses Polish Border Issue

(Daily Worker Foreign Department)

Urging the immediate settlement of the so-called "Polish problem," former Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, noted in his column published in yesterday's **Herald Tribune**, that "there are certain basic factors which are favorable to a constructive solution."

Prime factor, says Mr. Welles, is that **"the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States have all officially declared that the reconstitution of a strong and independent Poland is an objective which they all seek."**

Then Mr. Welles adds: "And it is clear that they can only obtain real security through the existence of a practical, workable, international organization, and through the cooperative support of neighboring peoples, particularly the peoples of the Soviet Union."

Again stressing the necessity for close relations between Poland and her immediate eastern neighbors, the former Under Secretary of State emphasizes:

"They can only become strong and independent if they are granted every opportunity for healthy economic development, which again depends upon international, and **particularly regional co-operation."**

Mr. Welles indicates that he is sympathetically inclined towards the Soviet Union's position on the border issue when he says:

"There is no nation of eastern Europe which would be more greatly strengthened in its future development than Poland, through the humanitarian and orderly transfer of peoples, under international regulation, in such a manner as to give the Polish people a durable, and not an artificial and unstable access to the Baltic Sea, and through the inclusion under Polish soveriegnty of a homogeneous Polish population.

"Poland's 1939 frontiers, both in the west and in the east, constituted a source of national danger and of continuing friction with her neighbors. There is nothing sacrosanct nor immutable about the treaties in which they were established."

Unfortunately, Mr. Welles' concluding remarks on just how the problem can be settled are slightly vague:

"These problems must be settled and these difficulties must be faced," he says **"The part of present wisdom would seem to lie in grasping the nettle firmly, and in preventing the creation of a situation where these decisions can no longer be made by agreement among the United Nations.. An Executive Council of the United Nations was never more necessary than it is today."**

This is a clipping from page 2 of the DAILY WORKER
Date February 10, 1944
Clipped at the Seat of Government

INDEXED

62-74867-1

FEB 15 1944

9 FEB 23 1944

(L) continued

Mrs. B. P. Lewis	11
Mr. J. Lewis	1
Mr. and Mrs. A. Levy	6
Mr. H. Beryl Levy	7
Mrs. Little	2
Mrs. Longstreth	5
Dr. and Mrs. A. Lowe	3
Mr. M. Lowe	16
Mrs. Lowenthal	3
Miss Ludington	1
Guest of Miss Ludington	1
Miss Lyon	9
Guest of Miss Lyon	9

M

Mr. MacIver	1
Mr. and Mrs. Madison	4
Miss Martineau	17
Mr. May	1
Mr. Mayers	8
Mr. Maynard	14
Private J. Mettern	17
Miss McCauley	7
Miss Metcalf	7
Mr. Millard	4
Mrs. Millard	4
Guest of Mr. & Mrs. Millard	4
Mr. Monsky	14

P - R

Mr. C. Petschek	1
Mr. H. Petschek	5
Mr. P. Petschek	4
Mr. W. Petschek	5
Mrs. Pierson	4
Mr. & Mrs. Pomerantz	12
Guest of Mr. & Mrs. Pomerantz	12
Mrs. Pressfield	8
Mr. & Mrs. Pregel	1
Mr. F. Pollock	10
Mrs. Renier	17
Judge Rifkin	3
Mrs. Rifkin	3
Miss Robinson	2
Mr. & Mrs. Rose	2
Mr. and Mrs. Rosenblatt	3

S

Mrs. Saperstein	14
Mr. Sapinsley	16
Mrs. Schramm	3
Mr. & Mrs. Schiff	10
Mr. & Mrs. Schwab	18
Mr. and Mrs. Socsman	11
Mr. Solberg	10
Mr. Sommerich	11
Mrs. Sommerich	1
Mr. Soule	7
Mr. Spitzer	11
Mr. Sprung	11
Miss Sprinzen	5
Mr. & Mrs. Starr	3

(S) continued

Dr. Staudinger	5
Mrs. Staudinger	5
Mr. Steiner	5
Mrs. Steiner	5
Mr. F. Stern	8
Mrs. E. Stern	5
Mrs. F. Stern	8
Mrs. Sulzberger	1
Mr. Sundheimer	17

T

Mr. Thomas	11
Mrs. Thomas	17

U

Mrs. Ulmann	14
Miss Ulmann	14
Mrs. Urban	2

V

Dr. Van Buuren	9
Mrs. Van Buuren	9
Mr. Van den Broeck	17
Mr. Vidal	11
Mrs. Vidal	11
Mr. Volk	2

W

Mr. Wanger	7
Mr. Warburg	2
Mr. Weber	18
Mrs. Weber	18
Mr. Weinstein	14
Mrs. Weinstein	17
Mr. Wilmers	3
Mrs. Wilmers	3
Mr. Weitzner	16
Mrs. Weitzner	16
Guest of Mr. Weitzner	16
" "	16
Mr. C. Wells	17
Mrs. C. Wells	17
Mr. Sumner Welles	1
Mr. Wiesenberger	9
Mrs. Weisenberger	9
Guests of Mr. and Mrs. Weisenberger	9
Mr. & Mrs. Wyler	11
Mr. and Mrs. P. Wyler	11

Z

Mr. and Mrs. Zimmerman	7

Press

Mrs. deLima	

The use of naval or air bases in southern Ireland by the United States or Great Britain would have saved many of our convoyed vessels from being sunk by German U-boats.

That may be regarded as a negative factor. What, however, can only be considered as a very positive factor, and one which gravely endangers the vital military interests of the United States and of Great Britain, is the persistent refusal of the Irish government to liquidate the Axis missions still functioning in Eire. The entire world has learned by repeated experience that Axis diplomatic and consular establishments are nothing more than centers of espionage and subversive activities.

Early in 1942 President Roosevelt impressed upon the Irish government the danger which these nests of Axis agents represented through the reports on naval or troop movements which they were able to send by clandestine radio or other means.

Eamon de Valera has never been noted for possessing an elastic mind. His reply dwelt solely upon the small number of Axis officials stationed in Eire, and the belief of the Irish authorities that the precautionary measures they were taking would make it impossible for Irish neutrality to be infringed.

Axis officials in Eire can carry on no legitimate business. There is no trade between their countries and Eire. There are no political negotiations in progress. The German minister and the Japanese consul in Dublin, with their staffs, are solely occupied in spying upon our military preparations and in attempting to procure support for their own subversive plots from those who hate Great Britain.

AT THE MOMENT when we are about to launch the greatest military undertaking of the war, the lives of our men and the success of our operations are endangered by these activities.

Yet Prime Minister de Valera, and, in fairness it should be added, a great majority of the Irish people, because of their determination to stick to a rigid interpretation of a wholly unrealistic theory of neutrality, refuse to remove these grave dangers to the United Nations, to whose power Irish peace is due, and upon whose victory the future liberty and independence of Eire depend.

The measures to isolate Eire which have been taken, and which may still further be taken, are fully justified, hardly as these measures will bear upon the national economy of the people of Eire.

The utter lack of logic of our Irish friends was never more graphically demonstrated than by the recent editorial in a Dublin newspaper which said, "We are so fond of peace in Ireland we will fight like hell to keep it." The Irish are not going to be doing any fighting. It will be the men of the United Nations, whom they will not even lift a finger to help, who will be doing the fighting and the dying to make it possible for the Irish to enjoy the peace of which they are "so fond."

Adherence to the strict letter of neutrality is no longer an honest course for any freedom-loving, peace-loving people. Those who will not lend a hand in the supreme effort to make it possible for a real peace once more to exist have no right to expect to be heard by the victors when the war is won.

This is a clipping from page _____ of the Washington Post for

_____

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FIL

File

Welles Says British Back Germany as Anti-Soviet Buffer

Former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles warned in his column in yesterday's New York Herald Tribune that "powerful influences in England" are opposing the destruction of German military and industrial power for war.

Welles said that while British newspapers have been active in opposing any political division of Germany and have given many involved reasons for their position "what they really want is the retention of Germany as the dominating force in central Europe.

"Many of these spokesmen speak for the same interests which so blindly believed that Hitler's Germany was less of a menace than Soviet Russia. They now wish the defeated Germany of today to be strengthened as a future buffer against a too powerful Soviet Union."

Welles said that agreement between the Big Three is essential on a reparations policy with the aim that "German industry and finance cannot again be utilized as instruments of war" and "total eradication of the German general staff."

He said that the German people expect a repetition of British policy towards Germany after World War I.

"Only this time it is fear of the Soviet Union, and not fear of France, which they think will obtain support for them in London," he said.

Welles added that the Germans also believe that "in its foreign policy no great power is so undependable as the United States" and that full support here for our government's policies will be needed to convince the Germans that "they cannot again evade the controls imposed upon them."

Although outspoken in its attack on British interests which want to retain a strong Germany, Welles did not discuss the role of American political leaders like Senator Robert Taft (R-O) who have similar objectives.

This is a clipping from page 8 of the DAILY WORKER

Date 7-19-45

Clipped at the Seat of Government

162-7-2E7-4
NOT RECORDED
87 AUG 18 1945

56 AUG 22 1945

Germany's Future

By Sumner Welles

Reparations-Disarmament-Controls

AN INCREASINGLY large sector of the British press is vigorously opposing any policy toward Germany which would further a political division of Germany, or a return to a federation of autonomous German states.

This is a significant campaign. It gives notice that powerful influences in England are working for a return to that traditional and cherished British policy known as the "balance of power."

For a century and a half successive British governments have held to the doctrine that after any victory, British alliances end. After every major European war, Great Britain has supported the defeated country. In that way a European balance of power could be maintained.

In that tradition, after the first World War, Lloyd George and his successors, notwithstanding the categorical provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, adopted a "soft" policy toward Germany. That was the cause of the bitter disputes between Great Britain and France in the immediate postwar years. And it was that utter divergence between French and British policies toward Germany which was the chief reason why Germany was able to prepare for the second World War.

BEHIND ALL the economic and political arguments advanced by these influential spokesmen in England to show why political decentralization in Germany would be harmful, the fact stands out that what they really want is the retention of Germany as the dominating force in central Europe. Many of these spokesmen speak for the same interests which so blindly believed that Hitler's Germany was less of a menace than Soviet Russia. They now wish the defeated Germany of today to be strengthened as a future buffer against a too powerful Soviet Union.

At the end of the last war the key to stability in Europe was French security. The failure of Great Britain—and of the United States—to help France to obtain security was a chief contributing factor to the tragedy of 1939.

The keys to stability in Europe today are the security of the Soviet Union and of the western European powers. If Great Britain were to revert to the policy she adopted in 1920-25, it will be difficult for the United Nations organization, especially during its formative period, to prevent a new disaster.

Two months have passed since the Nazi armies collapsed. There is as yet no sign of any United Nations agreement upon the principles, let alone the details, of the policy to be pursued toward Germany. Our own government only reached a conclusion a few days before the surrender upon what it thought the economic features of that policy should be.

THE UNITED NATIONS, before Germany's surrender, should of course have agreed upon every aspect of the policy to be pursued in Germany after the Allied victory. That was the plain lesson to be learned from the experience of World War I. That was the only way by which a safeguard could have been set up against later disunity between the major powers, and the only way by which the German people could have been convinced that they would gain nothing from the tactics they so successfully employed during the early 1920s, of playing off one great power against the others. It was also the only way by which an efficient occupation of Germany could have been achieved, and one which would from the first moment have served to pave the way for the ultimate objectives of a long-range Allied policy.

The best we can hope for is that the Big Three can now agree at Potsdam upon a unified policy.

The problems involved are innumerable. But a decision upon the following two points must not be postponed.

(A) Reparations.

No over-all policy, political or economic, can successfully be carried out until a decision is reached upon the reparations to be exacted from Germany. The failure of the Allied governments after World War I to adopt a just and practical reparations policy, or, what was even more important, to adopt some joint reparations policy, thwarted the growth of any true democracy within Germany. It was the immediate cause of the downfall of some 40 European cabinets in the first years after the war. There can be no stability in Europe if these errors are repeated.

Any policy toward Germany must settle the kind of economic life the German people are to be permitted to have, so that German industry and finance cannot again be utilized as instruments of war. No such decision can be reached until a reparations policy has been fixed. If, for example, the decision on reparations is to be along the lines of the rejected Wiesbaden agreement of 1921, under which it was proposed that German reparations would in part be paid through the reconstruction of devastated areas by German labor, by German manufactures, and by German raw materials, it is obvious that Germany's economic life must be adapted to the reparations to be thus exacted, as well as to the ability of the German people to achieve individual economic security.

(B) Disarmament and the permanent obliteration of German militarism.

The total eradication of the German general staff, the elimination of the threat that trained military forces can again be used for war purposes, and the disarmament of Germany remain objectives on paper. There is no sign that any conclusions have been reached concerning the surest methods of reaching these objectives. And yet, here again, no over-all policy toward Germany can be laid down until such decisions have been reached.

Germany could not have launched the second World War except for what happened between 1920 and 1925. The German people learned quickly that the Allies were pursuing no united and no fixed policy. They knew that British governments were opposed to such a weakening of Germany as would remove any continental check to a France which might become too strong. The German people today anticipate a repetition of the same phenomenon. Only this time it is fear of the Soviet Union, and not fear of France, which they think will obtain support for them in London.

The German people believe—and not without reason after the last 25 years—that in its foreign policy no great power is so undependable as the United States. Only if they learn that the American people fully support the policy upon which their Government now agrees with its Allies, and that they are determined to see it through, will the German people become convinced that they cannot again evade the controls imposed upon them. It will only be then that they will seek in their own interest to make a success of the political and economic regime which will be established by the United Nations in Germany.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

THE WASHINGTON POST
DATE 7/18/45

NOT RECORDED
87 AUG 22 1945

Best available copy

RECORDED & INDEXED

PERSONAL [redacted]
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

62-1[illegible]9-2

Date: December 20, 1945

To: Mr. Frederick B. Lyon, Chief
Division of Foreign Activity Correlation
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: Anonymous Letter Concerning Sumner Welles

As of possible interest, there is quoted hereinafter the translation of a letter originally written in Spanish which was addressed to Attorney Samuel D. Menin, Denver, Colorado. This letter was unsigned and was postmarked November 15, 1945 in the Dominican Republic.

OTHER Court Order

Mr. Menin advised he had no knowledge as to the identity of the author of the letter or the reason it was sent to him. He mentioned that [redacted] and felt that it was possible that someone might have obtained his name and address through [redacted]

The translation of the letter which bears no heading or salutation is as follows:

"Throughout all the American continent, the relations that exist between the Committee for Pan American Democracy and Mr. Sumner Welles are known. In order that you may have a clear conscience, it is suggested that you check to ascertain if it is certain that the true cause for which President Roosevelt expelled Sumner Welles from the Department of State was because he maintained abnormal sexual relations with Negro servants who work in the Department of State and with the Negroes of the railroad pullman cars. Actually when Welles visits the city of New York he spends the night with a man from Santo Domingo named Angelo Morales, known in Santo Domingo for his crimes contrary to nature."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

LJF:mmw

December 20, 1945

SAC, Denver

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Anonymous Letter Addressed to Samuel D. Menin,
Denver, Colorado from Dominican Republic

Reference is made to your letter of November 20, 1945 captioned as above.

In accordance with the request of Mr. Menin, this letter is being returned to you for delivery to him.

Enclosure

LJF:mmw

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR D. M. LADD DATE: November 20, 1945

FROM : SAC, Denver

SUBJECT: ANONYMOUS LETTER ADDRESSED TO SAMUEL D. MENIN, DENVER, COLORADO, FROM DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

There is transmitted herewith a letter written in Spanish, addressed to SAMUEL D. MENIN, Denver, Colorado, which apparently originated in the Dominican Republic. The envelope in which this letter was forwarded is also enclosed as is an English translation of the letter furnished by Mr. MENIN.

OTHER Court Order

SAMUEL D. MENIN is a local attorney who has a somewhat dubious reputation and who has defended numerous cases in this district in which the Bureau has made investigations, particularly cases pertaining to citizens of Japanese descent who were prosecuted for violation of the Selective Service Act. MENIN is regarded as somewhat of a shyster and is not looked upon with much favor by reputable attorneys in Denver. MENIN informed me that he had no knowledge as to the author of the letter or the reason it was sent to him. He did state that [redacted] and felt that it was possible that someone might have obtained his name and address through [redacted]

In view of the contents of the letter, it is thought that the Bureau might be interested in it and may desire to make some inquiries concerning its origin.

Mr. MENIN has requested that the letter be returned to him when it has served its purpose.

Encl.

RPK/mes

62-74869

Best available
copy

In all the Continent of America the relaciones that exist between the committee called Committee for Pan American Democracy and Pan-American and Mr. Sumner Welles are known. In order that you can perform the purification of your own conscience (position) it is suggested that you check to understand if it is certain that the true cause for which President Roosevelt expelled Sumner Welles from the Department of State was because he maintained abnormal sexual relations with serving Negros who work in the Department of State and with the Negroes of the pullman cars of the railroads. Actually when Welles visits the city of New York, he spends the night with a man from Santo Domingo named Angelo Morales, who has been notable in Santo Domingo for his crimes against the natives

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.
February 3, 1947

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

Director - F. B. I.

Re: Sumner Welles
Information Concerning

Dear Sir:

While conducting a routine investigation at the State Department, [redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] that he was sure that [redacted] Metropolitan Police Department, could furnish information regarding the captioned individual that would be of interest to the Director; therefore, an interview was had with [redacted] and he gave the following quoted information: b6 b7C

"In the fall of 1943, I was stationed at an Anti-aircraft Battery near Oxen Hill, Maryland, which was visited often by Mr. Welles, who was then Under-secretary of State. Welles' estate adjoined the Oxen Hill Battery. On one of his visits, Welles invited me to his estate to have a drink with him, but I was on duty and told him that I could not go. He tried to get some of the other fellows but was unsuccessful. He then insisted that I go with him and, finally, I consented to accompany him to his home for a drink. I had been advised before by [redacted] that Mr. Welles was going to take a trip to Russia and expected to take between thirty and thirty-eight Enlisted Men with him.

"While walking to Mr. Welles' estate, he suggested that we take a short cut across the lawn instead of walking up the road. At this time, he asked me when I had last had sexual intercourse. I told him that I was a married man and had been home just two days before. At this time, I suspected he was a "fruit" (sexual pervert). Welles suggested that we sit down on the lawn and have a smoke, which I did, and he then put his hand on my leg and started to undress. I immediately pushed his hand off my leg and started to leave. Welles then offered me $20.00 each time I would meet him on Tuesday and Friday nights. I left Mr. Welles standing there half undressed and have never seen him again."

62-74867-3
F IB I
34 FEB 10 1947

RECORDED & INDEXED

171

54 FEB 10 1947 COPIES DESTROYED
62-74867-3270 NOV 10 1964

P and C
Re: Sumner Welles
Information Concerning
2/3/47

b6
b7C

[redacted] added that he had not discussed this incident with anyone except his wife, a brother-in-law, and [redacted] and, as far as he was concerned, it was a closed case.

This information is being supplied as of possible interest to the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

GUY HOTTEL
SAC

GH:AM

NUMEROUS RE[illegible]

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor KEAY Room 7643

Subj: SUMNER WELLES

✓ Exact Spelling
✓ All References
___ Subversive Ref.
___ Mail File
___ Restricted to Locality of
On Nose

Searchers Initial [illegible]
Date 2-8

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NF-9-14680	
NF 62-74867	
NP D.C. Rpt Vol 5	p 3193
NP D.C. Rpt Vol 9	p 5635
NP D.C. Rpt Appx 1	p 858, 862, NP 868,
NP D.C. Rpt Appx 2	p 1010, NP 1024
NP D.C. Hearing Vol 14	p 8199
NP D.C. Hearing Appx	VII p 2, 10, 14, 42,
[illegible]-64700-736	Encl p 14
NP [illegible]-374183-294	
NP [illegible]-17724-9	
[illegible]-64700-921	Encl p 257
[illegible]-175-255-15	
[illegible]-22313-13	
[illegible]-58632-13	p 18
NP [illegible]-23278-267X12	p 102, 204, 1615, 425, 675,

Initialed

1

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

_____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 64-200-205	-1124
NP 65-59180-3	2, 24
64-330-231	-3835
NP 64-1301-221	
62-9801-2180X1	
NP 64-175-A	
L.W. 9-20-45	
ND 64-11466-49	
SE 62-200-205	-219
NP 64-1201-1166	
ND 64-39833-205	-48
NP 64-3001-1254	
ND 64-3301-737	
64-330-201	-9
NP 64-1000-704	
64-330-205	-103
64-330-3	-19
NP 100-94301-283X	
NP 100-64700-1093	
NP 100-64700-998	enc p. 287

_____
Initialed

2

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-92-Sub 1	
Wash. Times Herald 9-19-45	
NP 64-2801-3319	
SI 64-200-205-287	
64-330-205-141	
64-330-205-190	
64-330-253-210	
64-330-272-29	
64-330-261-136	
64-330-253-515	
64-330-261-163	
64-330-287-398	
64-330-237-344	
NP 65-60006-5 p. 20	
NP 65-59131-3	
NP 62-84793-1	
100-64700-95 3 encl p67	
NP 100-183386-534, p90, 187, p. 290	
NP 100-64700-953, encl p. 21	

_____
Initialed

3

NUMEROUS RE[redacted]ENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 62-58301-65 OK in CI Index not in dict	NP 1, 2
65	45
62-37747-A	
NP James Hare 9-5-43	
NP Wash. Times Herald 8-31-43	
NP PM 8-29-43	
NP 62-60950-16-A	
James Herald 11-23-44	
NP 62-58301-208 OK in CI Index not in dict	
62-62796-206	
NP 62-60736-2-4533	
NP 62-66287-37 NP	7, 381
NP 62-66645-125	
NP 62-69660-2	
NP 62-69727-12	
NP 62-70141-A	
Wash. Times Herald	12-9-42
NP 62-71913-1	
NP 62-75113-1	
NP 62-77787-864 NP	792

Initialed

NUMEROUS REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 62-77787-A	
Wash. Post 4-5-43	
NP 62-78900-1	
NP 100-64700-218	
NP 62-88217-21	part 2, p. 943
NP 62-62235-17	
NP 62-82062-3	
NP 62-89882-1	
NP 64-200-910-667	
NP 62-82062-1	
NP 62-82062-4	
NP 100-374183-453	encl. p. 53
NP 62-77787-1081	p. 320
NP 64-200-931-A	
N.Y. U. 2-5-43	
NP 64-175-89	NP
NP 64-200-201-100; 103-	
NP 64-1000-393; NP 25-	
NP 64-1006-A-70	
NP 100-64700-95-5	

_____
Initialed

5

NUMEROUS REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
64-330-253	250
NP 64-3000-1793	
NP 64-200-205	36 7, 1122
NP 65-59762-101	
NP 65-59762-104	encl p. 9
NP 64-30986-5	
NP 64-30791-3	
NP 64-3145 9-8	
NP 65-39513-73	
NP 64-1605-106	
NP 64-200-233	276
ND 64-3101-306	NP 317; ND 361
ND 64-5001-32	
NP 64-5001-183	NP 230, NP 332; NP 324, NP 292
NP 64-20368-10	NP 2
NP 64-5001-17	
N.W. 9-1-45	
NP 64-22998-1	
NP 64-274183-10	

_____
Initialed

NUMEROUS REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 64-2704-340	
NP 64-2704-A	-205; NP 210
NP 64-2800-1220	
NP 64-2800-A	-814
NP 64-3000-1203	NP 1213
NP 64-2801-1403	per pg #29 NP 303; 1005; NP 1646; NP 1739; NP 2028
NP 64-3001-585	
NP 64-3100-695	NP 1046
NP 64-3100-A	-421
NP 64-3101-289	p. A-10
NP 64-2100-1172	2; NP 694
NP 64-2111-36	
NP 64-2500-180	NP 262
NP 64-2700-3236	NP NP
NP 64-2701-338	574; 921
64-330-345	-458
SI 64-200-205	-506
64-330-345	1-299
NP 64-200-233	-A
D. W. 5-21-47	

_____
Initialed

1

NUMEROUS REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 64-2801-2949	
NP 64-3001-1284	
64-338-345-298	
NP 65-48667-1187	
NP 65-38696-1578	
NP 65-56402-212 p. 14	
NP 65-56402-621	
NP 65-45253-6	
NP 65-45-3977-128; 123; 166; 425; 426	
NP 65-45-601-213	
NP 65-46146-33	
ND 65-40979-610	
NP 65-56402-220	
NP 65-30150-2201	
ND 65-40979-608	
NP 100-344814-1	
NP 100-335481-188	
100-138754-17	
Wash Times Herald 7-27-41	

_____
Initialed

NUMEROUS REFERENCES

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-195-320 - 17	
Jewish Herald	9-26-47
NP 100-24628-1712, 20, 47	
NP 65-5-8632-9	2.18.99
NP 65-59180-2	
NP 65-38696: 132; 473; 480; 519; 493; 495; 525; 490; 532; 634; 664	
NP 65-38889-191; 389; 449; 1053 NP	
NP 65-39058-202	
NP 65-39343-2	
65-39945-29	
NP 65-47134-22-41	
NP 65-46922-2	
NP 65-47120-310	
NP 65-51376-15	
NP 65-51892-1	
NP 65-54291-183	
NP 65-56402-1-1783	

_____
Initialed

9

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 65-56402-2850, 933	
NP 65-58500-13	
NP 65-58068-243	
I 65-56402-A	
Tyne Herald	5-5-50
NP 65-38696-1812	
NP 65-56402-1-2487	
NP 65-55375-8	p. 42
NP 65-37295-2113	
NP 65-38696-1549	
NP 65-56402-1-909	
NP 65-48067-29, 61, 69, NP 76, 85, 109, 94, 123, NP 162, 210, 668, 700, NP 779, 954, 1121	
Bureau Library, Author of "Handbook for Receivers" SPS Literary Author of "The Intelligent American's Guide to Peace"	

_____
Initialed

10

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
SIS Library Author of "A death in Vineyard— Dominican Republic" 1844-1924 Vol I, II	
NP 100-351150-1	
NP 64-39204-55	
NP 100-16825-A	
Overseas News Agency 9-12-46	
NP 100-90431-1930	
NP 100-3-A	
20 W. 10-12-43	
NP 100-335-48"-182	
NP 100-19266-109	
NP 100-243001-13	
NP 100-190625-355, p.90	
NP 100-5-2226-1608	
NP 100-347117-2	
NP 100-58256-80	
NP 20-61876-33	
100-90341-20, NP 125, 134	

_____
Initialed

11

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-12134-1-23	
NP 100-97-1-A	
Wash. Ev. Star 12-18-45	
NP 100-181575-33 & 34, pt. 2	
NP 100-51287-A	
D.W. 2-23-46	
NP 100-341330-5	
NP 100-195220-A	
Wash. News 9-25-47	
NP 100-195220-A	
Wash. Star 9-25-47	
NP 100-195220-A	
Wash. Star 9-26-47	
NP 100-195220-A	
Wash Post 9-26-47	
NP 100-195220-A	
Wash. Star 9-24-47	
NP 100-377086-1	
NP 100-344600-1	
NP 100-7660-1116	

_____
Initialed

12

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

___Exact Spelling
___All References
___Subversive Ref.
___Mail File
___Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-7061-A	
N.W. 6-8-43	
NP 100-9023-174	
NP 100-43497-11	
NP 100-43740-172	
NP 100-46986-9	
NP 100-50311-11	
NP 100-52226-272; 65 NP 5	
NP	NP 105-3 —
NP 100-54503-150	
NP 100-333625-61	
100-3-134; 426; 107 NP NR NP	
NP 100-3-A	
N.Y. Times	10-16-42
NP 100-3-A	
Sun Worker	10-18-42
NP 100-3-1-129	
NP 100-2059-392-X	
NP 100-338584-113	

Initialed

15

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

___Exact Spelling
___All References
___Subversive Ref.
___Mail File
___Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-3-4-784	NP 4288
NP 100-3-7-602	
NP 100-3-14-1397	NP 1990
SI 100-3-28-329	NP 933; SI 414; 489
NP 100-329-A	
Wash. Daily News	12-1-44
NP 100-829-4002	
NP 100-2167-2	
NP 100-2390-13	
NP 100-3587-71	
NP 100-22785-32	
NP 100-33197-92	
NP 100-33613-19	
NP 100-34099-234	
NP 100-37078-4	
NP 100-37681-16	
NP 100-7061-537p	NP 32; 745; NP 923
NP 100-7660-1195	NP 2708

_____
Initialed

14

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers
Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NR 100-4326-391	NR 370-1
OK-C-2187-310	
NR 100-7695-4-A	
Wash. Times Herald 1-14-49	
NR 100-367360-188	
NR 100-350264-518	
NR 100-273049-30 encl p. 3	
NR 100-38829-43	
NR 100-16766-67	
NR 100-64700-309, p. 29	
NR 100-64700-111 p. 15	
NR 100-110154-9	
NR 100-195-220-A	
Wash. Post 9-25-47	
NR 100-195-220-129	
NR 100-343242-55	
NR 100-90431-A	
Daily Worker 4-4-45	
NR 100-99066-10	
NR 100-108197-A	
D. W. 12-25-42	

Initialed

15

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

___Exact Spelling
___All References
___Subversive Ref.
___Mail File
___Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers
Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
100-64700-200	p. 17
SI 100-24628-974	
SI 100-24628-602	2 encl p. 16
NP 100-24628-196	
NP 100-343242-64	p. 25
NP 100-348490-17	
N.Y. June 5 1949	BEST COPY
NP 100-348490-17	
N.Y. World Telegram 4-11-49	
NP 100-279049-41	encl p. 7, 9, 10, 12
NP 100-5-66-74-1010	
NP 100-52221-1149	
NP 100-30-26-268	
SI 100-3-5-1-57	
SI 100-63-53	
NP 100-135-26-156	
NP 100-64700-330	p. 6
NP 100-343342-45	p. 7
NP 100-375-7-68	

_____
Initialed

16

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-339994-1	
NP 100-348490-3	
NP 100-28829-48	
100-7160-1239	
NP 100-34445-2	-11, p 43
100-5-2226-1601	
NP 100-122008-14	
NP 100-134207-162	
NP 100-134410-1	NP 3 NP NP NP
100-138212-97	NP 175, 183, 193
NP 100-154363-1	
NP 64-1301-309	
NP 100-279704	-15, encl p. 33
NP 100-348490-1	
NP 100-7321-299	
NP 100-64700-364	p62, 72, 76, 83, 89
NP 100-375683	-355
NP 100-64700-66	
NP 100-348490-2	

_____
Initialed

17

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers
Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-94729[illegible]-1	
NP 100-342112-12	
NP 100-375040-2	
NP 100-375285-8	
NP 100-142884-19	
NP 100-142932-3	
NP 100-146964-246	NP 302 p 16, NP 324
NP 100-158128-8	
NP 100-167365-3	
NP 100-168796-4	
NP 100-[illegible]13221-1	
NP 100-187410-6	
NP 100-193637-19	
NP 100-202952-1	
NP 100-203268-70	
NP 100-209645-12	NP 91
NP 100-240511-54	
SI 100-25-1809-10	
NP 100-334430-80	
NP 100-335487-15	

_____
Initialed

15

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers
Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
~~_____~~ origin GI no serial mark - will take care	
64-2801- 3568X3	
NP 121-9893- 109	
NP 62-93414-4 & 2, 22	
NP 121-24422-1	
NP 65-31621-63	
NP 94-8-35216 9	
NP 94-1-22574-3	
NP 121-24118-38X3	
NP 66-5490-189	
NP 1-16-26-185	
NP 61-7589-4, 5 NP NP	
NP 61-7570-4, 5 NP	
NP 102-1-X	
NP 65-9940-216 Encl pg 40	
NP 61-8381-618X Encl pg 2	
NP 100-64700-225X Encl pg 350	
NP 61-8381-618X Encl pg 102	
100-64700-490 pg 41	
NP 61-7571-2	
NP 61-7582-76	

_____
Initialed

11

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 61-7586-42	
NP 61-7587-72	
100-64700-488 ~~fo~~ 19	
NP 61-16-1341 Encl ~~fo~~ 60	
NP 62-35744-32	
NP 61-7582-4 Wash Times 9/21/47	
NP 61-7588-3X11 X NP	
NP 61-7589-2	
NP 61-7590-2	
NP 61-9876-14	
NP 61-7507-7421	
NP 61-7567-29 NY Times 11/28/40	
NP 61-7566-4028	
NP 61-7586-139 ~~fo~~ 6	
NP 65-57402-3710 ~~fo~~ 1386	
NP 65-59180-8	
NP 62-82351-8	
NP 62-78171-6	
NP 62-78171-X1	
NP 62-56697-160 X7	

_____
Initialed

20

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-11688-748 #9	
NP 64-2600-261	
NP 123-6544-2	
NP 65-56027-1	
SI 4-200-205	-587 & 116
NP 100-47700-615	Encls 785-787, 838, 839
NP 64-1201-625	
NP 64-1601-270	NP 801
NP 64-200-223	4 NY Times 6/29/47
NP 64-175-3514	28
NO 64-1333-124	
NP 64-200-206	-562 & 28
Buffalo 64-330-345	-1-100
Albany 64-330-233	-209

Initialed

21

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers
Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 65-30251-A	(N.Y. times 11-15-40)
ONN CT 65-30520 C.T. 62-3[illegible]	3
NP 65-30092	329
NP 65-1675	7
NP 65-1674	6
NP 65-1673	4
NP 65-1676 CT 62-3397-97	9
NP 65-1482	5
NP 65-1610	6
NP 65-1413	37
NP 65-20039	1
NP 65-23437	38
NP 65-26112	13X
NP 65-28688	26 NP, 26 NP, 28 NP 2X1, 29 NP 3, 36 NP 9
NP 65-29441	12, 125 NP
NP 65-5793-A	N.Y. Journal American 6-5-42
NP 65-36847-A	Wash times herald (7-7-44)
NP 65-37939-A	P.M. (3-21-43)
NP 65-37940	2

_____
Initialed

22

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
65-30150	5X, 19, 1X5, 1X4, 17, 10, 18, 1X3, 25, 34, 36, 62, 73, 23X, 23X, 85, 86, 123, 144, 194, 198, 183, 176, 192, 363, 388X2, 396, 466X3
NP 65-38896	85
NP 65-38763	21
NP 65-29661	4
NP 65-1168	29 1X1
NP 65-28939	184
NP 65-31329	399
NP 65-33199	23
NP 65-33434	480
NP 65-30092	35, 36, 44, 46, 99, 63X, 186, 195X, 198X1, 191, 183, 189X2, 327, 341, 355, 696, 989, 1109, 1139,

_____
Initialed

2-

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 65-45397	141 NP
NP 65-48067	20, 766
ND 65-41271	124, 180, ND
ND 176, ND 298,	NP 396, 485, ND
ND 98, ND 212	
NP 65-41773	NP 311, NP 319, NP 363,
NP 359, NP 374, NP 381	
ND 65-41833	69, ND 234, SI 255
NP 65-42070	1
NP 65-43302	3874
NP 65-40104	9
65-40289	NP 236, NP 245
NP 378, NP 379,	NP 389, NP 431, NP 433,
NP 413, NP 504,	
ND 65-40605	ND 279, 289
ND 65-41022	70
65-41770	NP 8, NP 17
65-30892	NP 306, NP 331,
NP 33, NP 42	

Initialed

-4

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 64-200-232-A	(1-1947)
NP 47-18782	NP NP 1, 8, 6X
SL 52-47757 to 252 (25)	325 NP
NP 1-4	2976, 2674X4
NP 1-16 sub 36	177, NP 177X
NP 52-47751	252
NP 66-2542	5741
NP 66-5990	28, NP 32
NP 66-8603-1 sub 34	402
NP 66-5424 sub 3	24
NP 109-12-231	549
94-8-201-A	N.Y. grand jury 12-11-48
NP 100-64700	702 encl. p16
NP 100-64700	1073 P12
NP 105-12176	9
NP 100-64700-271 encl	p 277, 288, 289,
850, 1417,	2293, 2405,
2407, 110	
NP 65-30150	1X6
NP 65-30092	283

_____
Initialed

25

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 94-36511	92 encl P1
NP 94-3-4 sub 11	476
NP 94-4 sub 5061	2
NP 94-8-51-A	N.Y. times (6-10-43)
NP 94-8-66-A	times Herald (2-23-44)
NP 52-47751	57
NP 64-27707-A	The news (11-26-46)
NP 97-401	108
NP 97-2866	15
NP 19-87	1
NP 40-36876	1
NP 97-2985	15 XP 8
ND 46-1326-A	Wash. times Herald (1-25-48)
NP 97-2171	23 encl P114
NP 74-1333	1477 P12, 39
SI 97-2866 (16)	26
ND 87-10.984	31
SI 52-47751 to serial 252 (25)	435
ND 87-10.984	49
SI 52-47751 to serial 252 (25)	339

_____
Initialed

26

NUMEROUS REFERENCE [redacted]

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

_____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 100-357285	12 P13,14,16
NP 100-11552	109 P11
NP 100-64700	120 P4
211 Encl P56, P70	
NP 100-64700	379 P 111
I 100-64700	A (21-76-50)
NP 100-357285	5
100-11689	77, encl P7
100-64700	298 P8
NP 105-12189	X1, 32
100 64700-579	167, 169, 211
NP 62-93414	38
NP 54-350	10
SI 54-386	1
NP 105 12176	5
NP 105-3897	19
NP 109-12-231	22X
NP 108-267	6, 12
NP 118-1909	10
NP 105-10828	2 encl P11

_____
Initialed

27

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 111-1- 231 A	Daily worker 8-12-47
NP 110 - 158	1 #P
NP 105 - 9701	726, 768
121 - 23278	187
NP 109 - 12 - 244	197 P#6
NP 61 - 2261	15 P9
NP 121 - 23278	145
NP 109 - 12 - 233	378
NP 118 - 982	5
NP 74 - 1333	2518
NP 102 - 1	X, NP X1, NP Y3
NP 105 - 464	1
NP 105 - 3897	16
NP 105 - 3897 sub	A Daily worker (6-12-45)
NP 100 - 64700	488 incl.
X P93, P105	
NP 100 - 64700	580 incl P417
NP 74 - 1333	sub A Times Herald (12-18-48)
NP 109 - 12 sub 267	3
NP 100 - 24628	2395

_____
Initialed

28

27

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP 65-9180	68 NP NP
NP 65-9577	12, 114, 266
NP 65-10216	26
NP 65-10289	12 P3
NP 65-13941	48
NP 65-16073	827
NP 65-16128	7
NP 65-6856	82, NP 87
NP 65-8857	82, NP 610,
NP 657, NP 709, 15 NR 8, NP 330,	
NP 749, NP 586, NP 135	
NP 65-8819	17
NP 65-8946	6425
64-2801-303	
64-2800-484 X	

Initialed

9

NUMERQUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Subj: _____

____Exact Spelling
____All References
____Subversive Ref.
____Mail File
____Restricted to Locality of

_____

Searchers
Initial_____
Date _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIALS
NP65-8857-837	
NP60-56403-1-3009	

Initialed

30

Books of the Times

By ORVILLE PRESCOTT

SUMNER WELLES, former Under-Secretary of State, is one of our most authoritatively informed commentators on foreign affairs. He is also as bluntly outspoken and dogmatic in his opinions as the late Gen. Hugh Johnson or Westbrook Pegler. As a newspaper columnist he seems to take delight in the very reverse of the diplomatic reticence he once practiced so well as a distinguished member of the State Department. In his new book, "Where Are We Heading?"* Mr. Welles has reviewed with fury and disgust the state of international relations in the post-war world.

Sumner Welles

Any illiterate Eskimo who had even heard rumors about the manner of our peace-making would have good cause for pessimism. It is no wonder, then, that so well-informed an observer as Mr. Welles should be bitterly disillusioned. Looking at the world, he sees little of comfort, save the existence of the United Nations, which, in spite of that necessary evil, the veto power, is the hope of the world. It must be made to work. But if the United States and the Soviet Union cannot cooperate more effectively than they have recently, Mr. Welles foresees a Russian withdrawal from the U. N. and consequent international anarchy. "The insane delusion that democracy and communism cannot simultaneously exist in the world is rampant. Stupidity, reaction and timidity dominate the councils of the nations."

He Scores American Leaders

The present crisis, Mr. Welles believes, is caused by two chief factors: the bungling ineptitude of American foreign policy, which we can and must correct; and the strong-arm Soviet policy, which we can't do much about save to oppose, but which Russia must correct herself. Russian intransigence and American fumbling must be blamed for two cardinal sins against the peace: the cynical jettisoning of the Yalta Agreement, whereby Russia seized control of eastern Europe and America appeased her so that she could do so; and the colossal failure of Russia, America and Great Britain to agree in advance during hostilities on a long-range, specifically detailed plan for peace, particularly for Germany.

"Soviet policy in eastern Germany," says Mr. Welles, "can only be interpreted as an inflexible effort to consolidate Moscow-dominated German communism in that area * * * and to constitute the entire region as a political and economic tributary of the Soviet Union." The Soviet seeks the complete domination of Turkey and of the entire Near East. The present Polish-German boundary on the Oder is inexcusable, Russian behavior in Poland was outrageous and Yugoslavia is a brutal Communist dictatorship.

The American record, Mr. Welles believes, has been equally disgraceful. As a Secretary of State, Edward V. Stettinius Jr. was "devoid of any knowledge of international relations or even modern history and lacking the personal qualifications desirable for so high an office." President Truman and Secretary James F. Byrnes are just as incompetent. "Neither of these two directors of American foreign policy possessed the slightest knowledge of international affairs." Their sincerity and good intentions were entirely inadequate.

'Consistent Appeasement' Charged

The Conference of Foreign Ministers in London in September, 1945, was a disaster, but the Moscow Conference of December was worse. "The appearance of harmony was gained solely by a policy on the part of the American Secretary of State that can only be termed one of consistent appeasement, in the course of which the most vital principles were sacrificed." The United States policy toward Germany is really a complete lack of a policy at all. "The least serious criticisms of American policy within the American zone of occupation are that it was incoherent, inefficient and entirely disruptive in its effects." So "today Germany is the scene of a struggle for control between the Soviet Union and the West. The Russians are winning the struggle."

It should be plain by now that "Where Are We Heading?" is a book of personal opinion violently expressed. Mr. Welles knows what he thinks and never hesitates to say it. He knows how he thinks Europe should be reconstructed. It should be a regional federation within the U. N. If Germany remains one unit the U. N. should control the Ruhr, Rhineland and Saar. Better still would be to decentralize Germany into its traditional states. Trieste must remain Italian. Greek boundaries with Albania and Bulgaria should be adjusted in favor of Greece. Indigestible minorities such as those in Transylvania should be transferred by the U. N.

Mr. Welles does not confine his attention to Europe in "Where Are We Heading?" Latin-American relations have long been his specialty. So he is incensed by what he regards as our disastrous Latin-American policy of the last three years, the years since he left the State Department. Our invaluable reputation as a Good Neighbor, so laboriously built up during the previous ten years, has been largely lost, he believes, by our inept intervention in Argentina. Mr. Welles has no love for the Perón regime, but he insists that the American White Paper about Argentine affairs published during the Argentine election campaign and the blustering of Spruille Braden were ghastly mistakes interpreted all over Latin America as crude interference in the internal affairs of another nation.

About Asiatic affairs Mr. Welles has equally assured convictions. Palestine, he believes, should be an independent Jewish state under a U. N. trusteeship. Colonial peoples should receive their independence. But which ones in what order and how soon he doesn't specify.

Probably no reader with any opinions of his own would agree with all of Mr. Welles'. But the unpleasant facts on which most of Mr. Welles' opinions are based are incontestable. "Where Are We Heading?" is an impassioned protest against the deplorable and dangerous drift of current history.

*WHERE ARE WE HEADING? By Sumner Welles. 397 pages. Harper. $3

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

INDEXED
EX-42
62-74867-A
RECORDED
82
OCT 29 1946

The Dardanelles

By Sumner Welles

One-World Principle At Stake

WHETHER WE are to have one world or two is the outstanding question of today. Many who think they believe in a one-world order are advocating policies which could only bring about the creation of precisely that kind of a two-world order which they claim they oppose. If any practical example were needed to clarify their thinking, that example is available in the controversy over the Dardenelles.

The security of the Straits has been of increasing concern to Russia ever since Peter the Great captured Azov in 1696 and thereby gained an access to the Black Sea. The Straits afford the Soviet Union her one warm-water outlet to the west. The nature of the control of the Straits directly involves the safety of the Soviet Union.

The right of warships as well as of merchant vessels to pass through the Straits has been a matter of dispute since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

By the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi of 1831 Russia was permitted free access to the Mediterranean while no other power was permitted entrance into the Black Sea. The London Treaty of 1840 stipulated that no warships were to be permitted to leave or to enter the Black Sea. The Treaty of Paris of 1856 denied Russia the right to maintain any naval vessels in the Black Sea. The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 laid down the rule that the warships of powers friendly to Turkey were to be allowed passage both in and out of the Black Sea, and permitted Russia to maintain a Black Sea fleet. The Lausanne Convention of 1923 established a new principle by providing for the demilitarization of the Dardanelles, and by creating, under the League of Nations, an international commission of the Straits. Finally, the Montreux Convention of 1936 again changed the rules for the transit of warships and of merchant vessels, permitted Turkey to fortify the Straits, and reaffirmed the principle of freedom of transit and of navigation, by sea and by air, in time of peace as in time of war.

ANY STUDY of international efforts to regulate traffic through the Straits brings out two salient facts. The first is that the regime of the Straits has been changed whenever international conditions changed. The second was clearly stated by Maxim Litvinov at the Montreux Convention when he said, "There exists no other sea which is in the same geographical situation as the Black Sea. If the Mediterranean Sea or the Baltic Sea were in the same geographical situation as the Black Sea, I should not oppose equality of rights between the Black Sea states and those of the rest of the world; but such is not the case. The Mediterranean is not a closed sea. You can penetrate it through its two extremities, and that is also the case with the other seas. If to the contrary, you wish to penetrate the Black Sea, it is for a definite end. This may be either to pay a visit or to offer your assistance to a state in difficulty, in application of a decision of the League of Nations. For my part, I cannot imagine another legitimate aim for which foreign vessels would enter into the Black Sea."

The great difference between the Russian position in 1936 and the Russian position today is this: The Russian government was then willing to place the Straits under international control, subject to the League of Nations. The Soviet government today seeks what is equivalent to the sole right to control the Dardanelles and to fortify them, to the exclusion of the authority of the United Nations.

IN ITS NOTE to Turkey last August, Moscow claimed that "the regime of the Straits must constitute the competence of Turkey and the other Black Sea powers"—namely, Russia and her satellites, Bulgaria and Romania—and that "Turkey and the Soviet Union . . . should organize by joint means the defense of the Straits." In its more recent note the Soviet government the implied threat that, if Turkey organizes "military measures in the Straits together with any non-Black Sea power," the Soviet Union would regard her safety as in jeopardy.

In the light of present conditions the Soviet government is fully justified in asking for a reconsideration of the Montreux Convention. That has already been agreed to by the Turkish government and by the Western powers. But when the Soviet government maintains that the control and the defense of the Straits are solely a matter for the Black Sea countries, it thereby automatically denies the one-world principle upon which the United Nations has been founded, as well as the principle of freedom of communications.

Were the Soviet government to secure the rights its seeks from Turkey, the Black Sea would immediately become a Russian lake. The countries bordering upon it would all be forced to come under the Soviet system. Any acquiescence on the part of the United States in such a demand would mean that this Government accepted a two-world system.

The issue is therefore much more than merely the question of what constitutes Russia's rightful security. Russia is entitled to seek legitimate safeguards in the Straits. But those safeguards can only properly be established and controlled by the United Nations if that organization is to survive.

The future of the United Nations and the decision as to whether we are to have one world or two may well be determined by the final outcome of this dispute over the Dardanelles.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

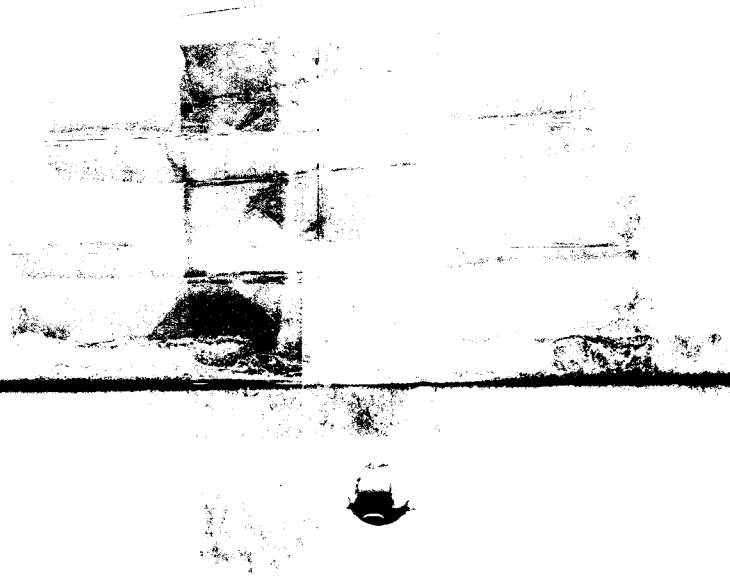
RECORDED

INDEXED

62-74861 A

NOV 13 1946

This clipping is from Page 11 of the Washington Post 9 October 1946



ENCLOSURE

62-71867-7

New School
128th Rat. 6th & 7th Floors

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS DINNER FORUM

SUMNER WELLES

November 27, 1944

	Table No.
A	
Mr. E. Ansen	6
Mr. W. Ansen	6
Guest of Mr. W. Ansen	6
" " "	6
" " "	6
Miss Arensen	11
Mr. Arkus	2
Mrs. Arling	5
Mr. Arnhold	8
Mrs. Arnhold	8
Lady Ashburton	11
B	
Mr. Bacon	1
Mrs. Bacon	1
Mrs. Bartlett	5
Mrs. Bayerthal	14
Mr. Bernheim	14
Mr. Bernstein	13
Mrs. Bernstein	13
Mrs. B. Bernstein	13
Mr. H. Bernstein	13
Mrs. H. Bernstein	13
Mr. Ernest Bing	17
Mr. Blanck	6
Guest of Mr. Blanck	6
Mrs. Blackwell	15
Dr. Rodolfo	18
Mrs. Blumenthal	10
Mr. Blumenthal	10
Mr. Borchard	15
Miss Burbant	16
Dr. Brecht	2
Mrs. Brecht	2
Mrs. Breckenridge	11
C	
Mr. Cleja	6
Professor Cook	5
Mr. Cowan	15
Mrs. Cowan	15
Guest of Mr. & Mrs. Cowan	15
" " "	15
D	
~~Mr. Daniels~~	2
Mr. Darnbacher	10
Mr. deGarnica	3
Mrs. deGarnica	3
Dr. de los Rios	1
Mrs. de los Rios	1
Mr. Dodge	2
Mrs. Dodge	2
Mr. Dougherty	1
Mr. Dretzen	16
Dr. Dukes	4
Mr. Duncan	5
Guest of Mr. Duncan	5
E	
Mr. Ehrlich	11
Mrs. Ehrlich	11
Mr. Eisner	9
Mrs. Eldridge	4
Guest of Mrs. Eldridge	4

	Table No.
E (Continued)	
Mme. El Khoury	7
Mr. English	7
Mr. Erlanger	5
Miss Erlanger	15
Mr. Esmond	1
F	
Mr. Feinberg	10
Mrs. Feinberg	10
Mrs. Fitzgerald	1
Mr. Fraenkel	1
Mr. Frohnknecht	18
Mrs. Frohnknecht	18
G	
Mr. Goldschmidt	4
Miss Goodman	16
Mrs. Gordon	16
Mr. Graham	1
Mrs. Graham	10
Miss Grant	1
Mrs. Grant	7
Mr. Griesbach	14
Mrs. Griesbach	14
Mr. Grunebaum	14
Mrs. Grunebaum	14
Mr. Gulton	11
Mrs. Gulton	11
Mr. Guthrie	1
H	
Miss Halle	2
Mr. Halle	15
Mrs. Hawkes	1
Mr. J. F. Hawkes	15
Mrs. J. F. Hawkes	15
Mr. Heineman	1
Mrs. "	1
Mrs. Heming	1
Mr. Herzfeld	18
Mrs. Herzfeld	18
Mr. Heyman	8
Mrs. Heyman	8
Mr. Hirschfeld	14
Mr. Hosiosky	14
J	
Mr. Jarvis	12
K	
Mr. Katz	11
Mrs. Katz	11
Mr. Kaufman	11
Mrs. Kaufman	11
Mr. Kramer	1
Mrs. Kramer	14
Mrs. Kuhn	1
L	
Mr. Landesman	4
Mrs. Landesman	4
Mr. Liebman	4
Guest of Mr. Liebman	4
Mr. Lissauer	14

Eire's Neutr

By Sumner Welle

Axis Diplomats Serve As Spies

THE RECENT exchange between our Government and the government of Eire, and the subsequent decision of the British government to suspend normal communications between the United Kingdom and southern Ireland, raise the question whether in the present world traditional neutrality is any longer even conceivable.

There are today no neutral powers in the Western Hemisphere. There is none in the Far East. There is none in Africa. In the Near East there is only Turkey. And in Europe there remain but Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and Eire. Only these few small states are still out of the war which Germany and Japan have inflicted upon the rest of mankind.

Of the European neutrals Sweden and Switzerland, because of their geographical position, have been in great danger. They could not for long have defended themselves against a Nazi attack, nor could the United Nations render them much effective help. Their continued freedom depended upon their ability to walk a tight-rope. The overwhelming majorities of both peoples are wholeheartedly democratic. Their sympathies have steadfastly been with the cause of the United Nations. They have been subject to every form of threat from Hitler. They have nevertheless been able to block almost every attempt on the part of the Nazis to utilize them for their own ends.

PORTUGAL remains neutral only in name. It has finally remembered the terms of its ancient alliance with England.

Had it not been for the passionate opposition of the masses of the Spanish people themselves, Franco might well, in the first years of the war, have prostituted the interests of Spain to the Nazi regime which he so warmly admires. Today the mounting tide of the victories of the United Nations has permanently removed this danger. The recent adoption by the United States and Great Britain of a realistic policy in their dealings with Franco has also resulted in a great curtailment of the assistance which the Nazis can obtain from Spain.

Of the neutral states of Europe, Eire has been in a favored minority of one. For it has been able both to have its cake and eat it.

The Irish people have suffered neither the hourly fear of Nazi attack nor the constant coercion of Berlin to which the other European neutrals have been subjected for four and a half dire years. The strong right arm of the British armed services, whether the Irish appreciate it or not, has saved them from these threats to their liberties.

Throughout these years the policy pursued by Downing Street in its relations with Eire has been wholly free from undue pressure, however much the stubborn refusal of the Irish government to help Great Britain or the United States in their war effort has handicapped the naval, air and military forces of the United Nations in their attempts to safeguard the British Isles, and to prosecute the war.

THE ATTITUDE displayed by President Roosevelt could have been neither more friendly nor more patient. He has time and again done his utmost to put the facts in their true light in his messages to Prime Minister de Valera. But to all of his messages the answers have been wholly unresponsive.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Leonard
Mr. Jones
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

INDEXED
62-74867 A
NOT RECORDED
87 MAY 1 1944

This is a clipping from page 4 of the Washington Post for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.